DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 418 226 CE 075 885

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TITLE	New Schools of the People: New Orientations in Reform and Research in Education.
PUB DATE	1997-11-00
NOTE	21p.; Paper presented at the SEAMEO INNOTECH International Conference (6th, Manila, Philippines, November 11-13, 1997).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Basic Education; *Community Development; *Educational Change; *Educational Development; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Lifelong Learning; Literacy Education; *Nonformal Education; *Social Change
IDENTIFIERS	*Informal Education; Philippines

ABSTRACT

Emergent reforms in education in the formal and nonformal sectors in the Philippines are changing the answers to traditional research questions and ways in which educational research will be carried out. Informal education is the ongoing process of transmission of knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes by a society to its youth. Formal education is distinguished by the three processes of abstraction, systematization, and specialization. Nonformal education involves a systematization of knowledge with immediate and practical relevance and value to learners. Two projects are attempts to model and demonstrate the viability of educational programs which, in their attempts to strike at the problems of Philippine education, are substantially different from present programs. "Enrichment of the Education Programs of the Cordillera Administration Region" attempts to systematize local knowledge and include it in the formal education curricula. "Comprehensive Education and Community Development Program of Valencia" ties community development and education in a comprehensive programs that includes all sectors of the community in formal, informal, and nonformal education. Three common perspectives animate these projects: view of development; participative research process woven into the programs; and wholistic and integrative frameworks of the ongoing projects. Additional research could be organized around these three perspectives. (10 references) (YLB)

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NEW SCHOOLS OF THE PEOPLE: NEW ORIENTATIONS IN REFORM AND RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

(Paper read at the 6th SEAMEO INNOTECH International Conference, Nov. 11-13, Manila Hotel, Philippines)

by

Maria Luisa Canieso-Doronila*

The relationship between society and education, and therefore also between social and educational change has long been accepted as axiomatic since the education system is the principal institution through which are carried out the fundamental processes of reproducing or recreating the generations in a certain image and for certain social purposes.

In his historical analysis of educational change in France, Emile Durkheim (in Karabel and Halsey, 1977) formulated this relationship as follows: "A pedagogical transformation is always the result and the sign of a social transformation that explains it."

At the micro levels of educational analysis, a study of pedagogical transformation entails an analysis of the ways by which a given education system operationalizes its answers to four educational questions: 1) Who will be educated? 2) What will s/he be taught? 3) What instructional and evaluation processes will be used? 4) Who will make the decisions regarding the above three questions?

Answers to these questions may be narrowly considered as educational problems of admission requirements, curriculum, instruction-evaluation and decision-making structures.

But Durkheim's formulation directs us to consider the underlying social structure and historical processes from which spring the answers to these questions, transforming them to a sociology of education, thus: 1) In what ways does educational distribution (or selection-admission/and access to education) reflect the underlying social distribution? 2) What forms of consciousness or world views are

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I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Erwin M. Vargas and Ms. Nanette Tolentino-Abilay in the preparation of this paper.

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developed through the curricula, the knowledge content of education, the instructional and evaluation procedures? In what ways do these forms of consciousness maintain, challenge or transform the underlying social distribution? 3) In what ways does the structure of decision-making in education reflect the underlying social distribution and power structure?

In the present context, where the issues and possibilities of educational change such as on the "learning society" are being discussed, Durkheim's formulation continues to be relevant.

In this paper, I will argue that emergent reforms in education both in the formal and non-formal sectors, arising from various social demands within a historical process are changing not only the answers to the above questions but also the ways in which research in education will be carried out.

For present purposes, a brief technical note on informal, formal and non-formal education will first be given. Then two ongoing education projects in the Philippines involving all these three modes of education will be described and analyzed according to the sets of questions earlier given. Then the new orientations and possible directions in education research will be sketched. This presentation is both preliminary and exploratory.

Informal, formal and non-formal education: relations, discontinuities and integration

In order for a society or community to reproduce and recreate itself in the succeeding generations, knowledge, skills, values and attitudes are transmitted to the young at each stage of the life cycle, and in the course of day-to-day activities. It is in this fundamental sense that we speak of community life and activities as the proper context of the teaching-learning process.

Informal education is the technical term for this ongoing process. Conceived in this way, informal education is integral to community life, woven into its fabric, as it were. Informal education is carried out everywhere, individually or in groups depending on the activity. The providers of education could be anybody who was also involved in the activity and was considered knowledgeable enough to teach.

With the introduction of the **formal education** system, the teaching-learning process assumed a new form, fundamentally different from informal education in at least three ways: 1) the organization of the young into classes in schools, following a pre-determined sequence, schedule and levels of education (i.e. early childhood, elementary, secondary, post-secondary, tertiary); 2) the systematization of knowledge into disciplines, each within a distinctive and conceptual framework of disciplinal knowledge; 3) the consequent organization of knowledge transmission into subject areas in a pre-determined curriculum; and 4) the professionalization of knowledge transmitters (teachers) according to distinctive areas of specialization. It is in these senses that we conceive of the education process as a formal system.

In formal education systems which evolved directly from informal education, using as language of instruction the regional or national language, the discontinuities between formal and informal education are fewer. The main discontinuity would be in the increasing abstraction of knowledge from its practice in daily life, as well as its systematization and specialization. These three processes of abstraction, systematization and specialization constitute the formalization of knowledge, as distinguished from the practical knowledge of daily life.

In countries like the Philippines where the introduction of the formal education system as well as of a new written language(s) and the knowledge encoded in it were part of the process of colonization, the discontinuities are far greater and more complex, not only in the language and content of the knowledge to be transmitted, but also in its relevance to the daily life, practices, needs and aspirations of people in communities. This is the root cause of the problem of irrelevance of our formal education system to the lives and aspirations of our people.

Non-formal education, as the third type of education, is in a good position to bridge these discontinuities. Essentially, as in formal education, it involves a systematization of knowledge, but that kind of knowledge that has immediate and practical relevance and value to learners, mainly adult or out-of-school. Thus, it also partakes of one of the best features of informal education in which learning is closely and immediately linked to community life, needs and emerging situations. Some

examples of this type of education are: setting up a business, managing a rice mill or poultry business, setting up a cooperative.

The providers of non-formal education (i.e., the teachers) could be of several types: academic experts or specialists from government agencies or the private sector, and community folk who are practitioners and therefore possess practical knowledge of the subject.

Because its specific purpose is short-term and immediate, non-formal education is best equipped to address the improvement of current community activities and solution of problems, as well as preparation for emerging situations which will require new skills. Thus, an important component of non-formal education is **continuing education**. Because of its systematic nature, non-formal education has also the potential to become a bridge program for those out-of-school youth who wish to return to formal school but whose experience out of school may also have enriched their knowledge in many ways.

Brief Description of the Projects

Two projects, instituted by the Education Research Program, Center for Integrative and Development Studies of the University of the Philippines in 1994 and 1995 respectively, are attempts to model and demonstrate the viability of educational programs which, in their attempts to strike at the roots of the problems of Philippine education, are substantially different from present programs.

The first one, entitled "Enrichment of the Education Programs of the Cordillera Administration Region Through the Incorporation of Usable Indigenous Knowledge in the Formal and Non-Formal Curricula" is an attempt to systematize local knowledge and include it in the formal education curricula, thus making that knowledge valid. Included in this knowledge structure are the rice-terracing agricultural system of the Cordillera, which is their main production system, and the mathematical (algebraic) structure of their weaving patterns, music and kinship systems. Other aspects of the Cordillera are expected to be included at a later stage.

The project has five phases: 1) review of the existing written literature on the Cordilleras; 2) field research on the rice terracing system and other aspects of

Cordillera culture; 3) validation of data by community folk and development of instructional modules based on the research (#2 above) by public school teachers in the research sites with help from U.P. curriculum experts; 4) field test of the modules in schools situated in the research sites; 5) identification of research gaps. Cycle Two then goes back to Phase I following the same process.

Participants in this collaborative project are: the Department of Education in Cordillera Region; the University of the Philippines; public school teachers, local leaders, community folk and students in the areas where the research was conducted.

The research framework for the identification and systematization of indigenous local knowledge on the rice-terracing system of the Cordilleras is an integrated set which includes 1) the concepts and technology of engineering, irrigation and agriculture of the rice terracing system; 2) the actual practice of building, maintaining and production in the terraces; 3) the skills and competencies needed for the practice; 4) the modes of transmitting these skills; 5) the entire socio-cultural-historical context of meanings, rituals, values, beliefs and social institutions which support this system; and 6) the dynamics of maintenance and change in this agricultural system which has survived since pre-colonial times. A similar framework is used for the mathematical (algebraic) structure of the weaving patterns, music and kinship system.

The second project entitled, "Comprehensive Education and Community development Program of Valencia, Negros Oriental or CECD", ties community development and education in a comprehensive program which literally extends the meaning of "Education for All" to include all sectors of the community in formal, informal and non-formal education.

Participants in this collaborative project include: the Department of Education at national and provincial levels, the Literacy Coordinating Council of the Philippines, the University of the Philippines, the entire local government of Valencia, the community folk as well as NGOs and other organizations based in Valencia.

The specific directions of community development were part of a community-wide participative process in which the people's problems, needs and plans as

expressed by themselves, were articulated with the municipal development plans as formulated by local officials.

Four major components make up the program which includes both the education and the community development aspects: 1) Agricultural Development and Livelihood Training Program, 2) Social Services and I.D. System Program, 3) Eco-Tourism Development Program, and 4) Community Resource Development Program. Below is a description of each of these components.

1. Agricultural Development and Livelihood Training Program

This component integrates education with agricultural development by transforming the farm environment into a learning field where local farmers apply their knowledge as well as gain more skills and learn how to innovate and enhance farm productivity while maintaining the farm environment. Skills training include practical hands-on experience as well as educational enhancement and literacy development. Thus, self-reliance means that local people not only learn how to farm better but also become "farmer-scientists" in charge of the development and management of their farms.

Recently, the National Irrigation Authority finished the construction of an irrigation system in Valencia, providing infrastructure for increasing agricultural production and for introducing lowland rice production.

With technical support from the College of Agriculture, UP Los Baños, two barangays started experimenting in *rice* planting. It was the first time that rice was planted in Valencia. Initially, two farmers donated the use of their farm lands for this experiment, and at present 6 more farmers from other barangays are transforming their lands into rice farms. At least 20 farmers are now involved in the rice production process to study its feasibility in Valencia.

Some varieties of *bananas*, which is the main cash crop in Valencia, are afflicted by a disease called *Tibaglon*. This disease affects the growth of the plant, and blackens the fruit. The municipality, through its Agricultural Office, in close coordination with the UP Los Baños experts, started an awareness campaign to prevent the spread of the disease through the formal school system, the Community Para-Teachers' Association, and different banana-producing

barangays. Farmers were taught practical measures on how to minimize, or even prevent, the occurrence of *Tibaglon*. This campaign was also tied to the community health campaign against dengue fever, since the eradication of *tibaglon* requires cleaning up of banana clumps which are also breeding places for the anopheles mosquitoes.

Vegetable production in Valencia is also given close attention under this program. Courses on the different stages of vegetable production, as well as seeds, were given to farmers of some vegetable -producing barangays. Some farms situated at different elevations were used as experimental sites run by the farmers themselves, where the growth of different vegetable varieties could be studied by the farmers' groups.

Since Valencia is traditionally a *corn*-producing municipality, there are plans of growing new varieties of corn in this program.

However, some farmlands in Valencia have remained idle because farmers could not afford to buy the necessary working animals and farm implements. Thus, a *custom-plowing and carabao dispersal* sub-component was introduced as part of this program. Aimed at maximizing land use and promoting self-reliance, the program recruits some farmers to plow fields of fellow farmers for a fee. These farmer-beneficiaries are also the participants of the carabao dispersal program which is governed by rules formulated by the farmers themselves.

A sub-component on *marketing and trading* has set up the institutional mechanisms for marketing agricultural products. For this purpose, the existing *cooperative* of Valencia called Valencia Agricultural Multi-Purpose Cooperative, Inc. (VAMPACI) is being strengthened so that the small farmers of Valencia can collectively market their produce to bargain for better prices with potential marketing outlets. VAMPACI studies the marketing of different agricultural products, particularly Valencia bananas. It is also looking into different agri-business possibilities. For instance, the drying facilities in the Geothermal Plant of the Philippine National Oil Company are now being used for the drying of fruits, copra, and other Valencia produce. A tissue-culture facility is about to be completed in the

municipality, with UP Los Baños giving the training to Valencia technicians, who will eventually run this facility.

2. Eco-Tourism Development Program

Valencia may be considered as an eco-tourism site in Negros Oriental with its cool and invigorating climate and abundance of plants, fruit trees and flowers. It boasts of the twin peaks of Mt. Talinis, the Banica Swimming Lagoon and the Casaroro Falls. The Valencia Mountaineering Guides Association has been organized to provide services to tourists; an environmental awareness program is being carried out in all schools.

The Eco-Tourism component of the program is important for preserving these sites, and promoting them to local and foreign tourists. Valencia is being recommended to the Department of Tourism as the model site for eco-tourism in Region VII (Central Visayas). An eco-tourism festival is set for May 1998.

3. Social Services and I.D. System Program

This component seeks to address the right of every Filipino to receive basic services from the government, on the condition that they also fulfill certain obligations as citizens. It is believed that the twin components of provision of social services as well as fulfillment of obligations such as payment of taxes must be present for an I.D. System to be acceptable to the population. To inculcate these rights and obligations among the Valencianons, the Social Services and I.D. System component was included in the CECD program. By applying for an I.D. card, which requires tax clearance, every Valencianon can avail of social services, the most important of which are the P2,000 hospitalization subsidy, electric subsidy, and caskets for indigents. The I.D. card carries as well the holder's blood type. Card holders will be organized by blood type at the barangay level for quick access in emergency cases to "walking blood banks" who are also one's friends, relatives and neighbors.

This component also includes the conduct of Citizenship Education which includes Tax and Voters' Education, Basic Environmental Education, and Primary Health Care Education. To inform the people of Valencia about this program, a brochure containing the details and mechanics of this component was prepared.

This massive citizenship education program is conducted in every barangay (lowest local government unit). At present, 75% of the population are enrolled with the I.D. System, and the citizenship education modules are already being used in study circles conducted by barangay officials and other volunteers.

4. Community Resource Development Program

This program aims to build greater capability among the local people to run their own education programs and community projects. The Community Resource and Training Center and the Barangay Development Center provide and coordinate all the education and training programs required by the three other components.

Community resources development include the development of the Valencia Municipal and barangay center libraries, as well as the training of various personnel who will deliver various education services. These include trainors and facilitators for various adult education programs including literacy, community literacy teachers, translators, documentors and formal school teachers, all of them from the community.

Several new initiatives in formal education are now in place. Valencia is evolving as the center of distance education in Negros Oriental with the opening of the Valencia Learning Center by the UP Open University. These programs aim at improving the teaching of science and mathematics in the secondary school. At present, there are 89 secondary teacher-enrollees from all over Negros Oriental in the distance education program. Other programs are expected to be instituted. The first graduation with 59 graduates is set for May 1998.

For elementary and high school teachers, a regular Faculty Development Program (FDP) is undertaken in Science, Mathemathics, English, Literacy and Administrators Training, in cooperation with U.P. The first such program was done in the summer of 1996 with 200 participants, some of them from neighboring municipalities. The second was held in May 1997 as an extension service to the municipalities of the 3rd District of Negros Oriental with 247 graduates. FDP is expected to be the forerunner of a Teacher Training Center to be set up for the province of Negros Oriental.

The CECD program is also pioneering the implementation of the Home Study Program with the primary thrust of providing education to high school drop-outs and students who are living far from school centers. The concept is essentially one of distance education, where high school students come to school for three days, and do the rest of the lessons at home using modules in the distance education mode. Two formal school teachers have undergone training in module-making provided by U.P.

In addition, a new approach to basic literacy and numeracy for first graders is currently being pilot-tested in all the 18 elementary schools in the municipality. The curriculum focuses on rapid learning of the basics of reading, writing and the four fundamental arithmetic operations. Latest reports show an average of 80 percent literacy among Grade 1 pupils after only 5 months in school.

A significant development is the organization of the Community Para-Teachers Association whose members are being trained to deliver literacy and functional education to various sectors. The community teachers closely coordinate with the barangay captains to disseminate information on the training programs and implement development plans at the barangay level.

A day care curriculum has also been developed and tested in all the existing day care centers. The daycare teachers themselves have developed books which were incorporated in the curriculum.

Lastly, the Local Government Officials Training Program has begun through the conduct of a training-orientation on Local Autonomy and the 1991 Local Government Code.

Now on its third year of operation, the Valencia project has been institutionalized with the passage of a resolution by the Municipal Council (Sangguniang Bayan) adopting CECD as the municipal development program and appropriating local funds for this purpose. It is fair to say that at this point, the program has moved from a project type to become a part of the socio-political-cultural rhythm of life in Valencia. A comprehensive external evaluation is ongoing, as part of the formal phase-out of U.P.'s direct involvement in this program.

The Valencia community is justly proud of this program which has helped them to win four major awards: 1) First Prize winner of the 1997 Clean and Green Contest, provincial level; 2) Second Prize winner of the same contest, regional level; 3) Most Outstanding Municipality of the Philippines for 1996, awarded by the Department of Interior and Local Government; and 4) National Gold Awardee of the HAMIS award (Health and Management Information System), from the Department of Health.

The cash prizes attached to these awards have all been plowed back to the various components of CECD.

The Socio-Historical Context

At the most fundamental level, these two programs may be seen as responses to social demands expressed by a Left-led mass movement from the early '60s which included "a nationalist, mass-oriented, scientific education" as one of its major platforms.

Shorn of the rhetoric, the critique of Philippine education included, among others, 1) the separation of education from its social context, thus the irrelevance of its content and processes to the real problems and directions of Philippine society; 2) the denigration of our own knowledge in favor of foreign-oriented content taught in a foreign language, resulting in a weak national identity; and 3) the lack of access of the majority of the population to quality education with the huge drop-out rates from Grade 5, and without significant provision for continuing education in the non-formal sector.

Into this neglected sector, the NGOs and POs of the mass movement entered in the late 60's with counter-education, literacy and other political education efforts; even as government adult education programs narrowly focused on literacy and vocational education.

The mass movement derived its impetus from several quarters: 1) the continuing agrarian unrest in the countryside under the influence of the National Democratic Front and the Communist Party of the Philippines, 2) the separatist aspirations of Muslim Filipinos under the Moro National Liberation Front, 3) the

student and teacher movements in the cities initially fueled by demands to end Philippine participation in the Vietnam War, 4) the workers movement for increased trade union rights and more equitable distribution, 5) the progressive sectors of the Christian churches deriving their mandate from Vatican II and the World Council of Churches, 6) the feminist movement, 7) liberal intellectuals, and 8) businessmen and other elites shunted out of power by the practice of "crony capitalism."

Many of these groups began to conduct their own counter-education efforts both in the formal and non-formal sectors. These counter-education efforts, characterized by a social historian as the most significant education reorientation since the American occupation, helped to create the conditions that led to the overthrow of the dictatorship. These efforts were directed towards various organized sectors, the adult clientele generally unserved by the formal education system. The initial response of the State was repression and violence resulting in massive human rights violations, which triggered off even more counter-education and organized efforts to protect human rights.

The watershed EDSA Uprising of February 1986 marked the powerful but short-lived coalition of a wide assortment of organized groups and disgruntled military forces as well as a huge mass of unorganized individuals who had espoused various social demands.

But the fragile political coalition forged among anti-Marcos forces quickly dissolved, in part due to the extreme divergence of political interests which have their basis in centuries-old inequity, and the inability of the Aquino administration to balance political demands in the face of continued threats to its stability mainly from the rebel military faction which mounted a total of seven coups d'etat during her administration (cf O.D. Corpuz, 1989).

One of the most important consequences of the EDSA Uprising is the passage from a "parochial" and "subject" political orientation to a participant orientation, particularly among organized groups, involving an "awareness of decisional political processes and outputs as well as a belief that the citizen has the right to participate" (Wurfel, 1989 in Doronila, 1996).

Thus, in spite of the fact that no major electoral reforms have been legislated to significantly alter the composition of the predominantly elite Philippine Congress, the issues and demands raised by various groups which continue their adult education efforts in the popular education mode, have found their way into the 1987 Constitution as well as in legislation.

The most significant of these legislative and policies appear to be: 1) the agrarian reform law; 2) the creation of autonomous regions for indigenous and Muslim Filipino communities; 3) the local government code which is a significant move towards decentralization and people participation at the grass roots; 4) Philippine education reforms; 5) language policy; 6) literacy under Education for All; 7) human rights education; and 8) Philippine Development Plan for Women.

Very clearly, these laws, mainly derived from the 1987 Constitutional mandates, are attempts by the government to accommodate various social demands expressed by the popular movement. However, while the mandate is clear, from the point of view of organized groups, the laws arrived at by a still elite-dominated Congress have failed to meet all the social demands and are deficient in terms of educational needs.

The mass movement in the 1960's reached its apex during the EDSA uprising of 1986 when political and non-political groups coalesced to remove the dictatorship. This fragile coalition soon disintegrated. More important, serious questions raised after 1986 about the political agenda of the Left which led the mass movement resulted in the splintering of the Movement. At the same time, the peace efforts of government starting with the lifting of the Anti-Subversion Act opened the possibility for reform-minded groups to work with government agencies without necessarily abandoning their basic principles and political agenda, of which the most important item is towards the correction of inequitable distribution.

Although not without its tensions, this trend has made the present government approach of "Convergence of Efforts" a potentially viable framework in pursuing the government's Social Reform Agenda. Thus the collaborative nature of the education projects earlier described.

The Emergence of the School of the People

Three common perspectives animate the projects described earlier: 1) the view of development; 2) the participative research process self-consciously woven into the programs; and 3) the wholistic and integrative frameworks of the on-going projects.

In these projects, development is viewed as "a process of human development, a process of social transformation in which man is both the subject and the object, and in which he participates at all levels of decision-making. Self-reliance is both a means and an end in this process. It is a process which starts with the release of creative energy of man, assumes equal access to and a rational use of resources by the poor and vulnerable groups, tends to eliminate the difference between mental and manual labour and uses the full range of technological choices available from other sources properly adapted. This kind of development is not only more humane but also represents a new man, nature, technology mix. In the participatory process which results in growth, human development and equity are not trade-offs (Wignaraja, 1991: 195).

This definition of development is preferred because: 1) it places man/woman at the center of development; 2) it assumes his/her creative and powerful potential to participate meaningfully in the entire development process, and 3) it recognizes that social change must start with how people themselves respond to the forces which constrain or encourage social transformation.

Given this definition, it is necessary to conceptualize both individual and group or community development as a process of human and social development towards self-reliance, realization of creative potential and participation of people at all levels of decision-making. These two processes must be understood in interactive relation, not separately, because the development of individuals in the direction of change and growth indicated by the definition does not occur outside of the context of social life; nor can social development occur without people's individual and collective responses to the forces which contribute to or constrain social transformation.

We may thus conceptualize individual development not only in terms of actual skills learned, but also changes in self-concept, further motivation to learn, acquisition of values related to empowerment (e.g., relation to authority, ability to take initiative, participation in community efforts) orientation to change (e.g. risk-taking), and adaptive capacity, among others. We may conceptualize social development in terms of social participation, sustainability of development projects including literacy training, capacity of the community especially the marginalized groups to get involved in and contribute to development efforts, development aspirations of people themselves, their capacity to articulate these and to participate in their realization.

In this process of development, education including literacy, plays an important role, particularly where the education process in its best and original sense (educere, to draw out) is analogous to and an integral part of development.

The participative research process, on the other hand is carried out according to Freire's model of "Action - Reflection - Action" and involves the majority of the participants of the programs in such activities as quick surveys in their own neighborhoods; local assemblies to discuss problems and plans, and synthesizing these into larger clusters of ideas; validating the data gathered by others in the group; analyzing data on the project and deciding on corrective measures in project implementation; monitoring and evaluating the project.

Meanwhile, the wholistic and integrative framework of the on-going projects assures not only the articulation of the content of education with the social milieu, but also the participation of all or many sectors in the community, and therefore also the blurring of the boundaries between formal, non-formal and informal education.

To return to the question posed earlier, it is clear that the possibilities offered by such schools of the people will give entirely different answers to the educational problems of admission, curriculum ,instruction and evaluation.

In an education system with a multiplicity of programs of many types and modalities (e.g. residential, distance, group, "hands-on", tutorial, self-learning) for various sectors, age groups and interests, the question of selection-admission or access to education can have an entirely different set of answers from that of the

present one where many compete for a few slots in a single, lock-step set of programs in the formal elementary, secondary and tertiary levels.

Where educational knowledge or curriculum content not only comes from books but also from actual practice, and where such knowledge is held not only by the teacher but also by community folks themselves, the knowledge available becomes multi-faceted, multi-layered, always open-ended and open to confirmation and rejection. Moreover, the effect of this multiplicity of knowledge sources could make instruction a truly dialogical process between teachers and students, students and their parents, and among the people themselves.

Finally, in educational projects of this type which always involve so many people of different persuasions from various sectors and age groups, the distribution of power in education decision-making becomes more egalitarian, and power-sharing becomes the norm, as well as negotiation and consensus building towards a common social purpose.

It is possible to imagine that an education system organized in the ways being demonstrated by the ongoing projects could become real **Schools of the People**, advancing their knowledge through scientific analysis and open debate while fostering a rootedness in their own culture, promoting their interests and those of the community and the nation, creating spaces through education for those hitherto marginalized and unable to obtain an education.

Such spaces, in the long term, will provide the impetus for change in the underlying social distribution. Thus far in the Philippines, the concepts of empowerment, democratization, human development and social transformation have been bandied about too loosely, reified in fact into a reality devoutly to be wished.

Such concepts, no matter how often invoked, will not acquire a reality without changes in the social structure and the underlying social distribution, including changes within the education system itself.

The entrance of marginalized people into the formal educational mainstream, configured in its present form, will not create spaces for them. As we have seen in Philippine education history, the increase in participation rates in formal education at the lower elementary school levels cannot be sustained. Thus, the phenomenon of

high drop-out rates starting from Grade 5 even while the participation rates at Grades 1 and 2 have been increasing is not merely coincidental. They are two sides of an education system which, in its present form, cannot be sustained by a less developed country like the Philippines.

On the other hand, the possibilities offered by our two examples (there are others) for the reconfiguration of the Philippine education system into what is now called by UNESCO as "a learning society" could provide more spaces of a different kind for marginalized Filipinos.

In such a society, the community itself becomes a school of the people, a learning community where education as well as social participation, utilization and advocacy for reform are integrated towards the singular and continuing project of enabling people to move from the margins of society to a social and educational space in the mainstream which they have created and helped to transform for themselves. It is in this context where the present "buzz-words" of empowerment, human development and social transformation could acquire a reality.

New Directions in Education Research

By now, it will have become apparent that the emergence of schools of the people within the context of a learning society requires a new set of research questions.

Thus far, in the history of research in the sociology of education, (cf. Karabel and Halsey, 1977) the research paradigms have evolved from structural functionalism to the human capital theory and to the various conflict theories of education in the Marxist or Weberian mode.

Since the early 70s, however, a new set of formulations has emerged using phenomenological and interactionist approaches. Proponents of both approaches have called for a shift from the normative and structural aspects of education to a new interpretative mode. No doubt such a shift has been occasioned by the realization that the study of structural aspects of education (e.g. participation rates, school performance indicators, educational spending, literacy rates) cannot tell the whole story of education.

In fact, the proverbial "black box" in these structural studies contains the aspects of the education process itself: questions on admission, selection and access, the knowledge content of education as determined by the curriculum, the instructional-evaluation process and the decision-making structures in classrooms and schools. These are the areas where the phenomenological and interactionist approaches have focused their research attention.

The later studies of Basil Bernstein (cf. Karabel and Halsey, 1977) have brilliantly demonstrated both the feasibility and necessity of combining the structural and interactionist research approaches in laying bare the relation between what goes on in schools and their underlying bases in the social structure. Thus we go back to the seminal formulation of Emile Durkheim earlier in this paper. This research approach offers the best possibilities for the scientific study of schools for the people in the context of a learning society.

But additional aspects need to be studied, and these could very well be organized around the three perspectives which animate the education projects earlier described, namely: 1) the view on development; 2) the participative research process self-consciously woven into the programs requiring the participants of the project (e.g., farmer-scientists) to reflect upon their ongoing work in a systematic way; and 3) the integrative frameworks of the projects which expand both their scope and substance, and involve different sectors and age groups.

These perspectives, viewed separately, point to different sets of educational outcomes in the short and medium terms. Some of these have already been indicated in an earlier section (e.g., changes in self-concept, risk -taking behavior); while in the long term, changes in the social structure and social distribution could be related to the operational definitions of empowerment and to the eventual blurring of the present boundaries between formal, non-formal and informal education, among others. Here again we will have to return to Durkheim who reminds us that educational change is both an important reflection of underlying changes in society and an active agent in the whole process of social change.

The education process, while designed in many ways to maintain existing social arrangements, contains within itself the possibility of its own transformation, as well as the transformation of the society of which it is an important part.

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